

The Doctor of Principles

DAILY NEWS
Dale Lautenbach
Political Staff
CAPE TOWN

18 JULY 1988

THE man tipped to lead the PFP, Anglo American executive director Dr Zac de Beer, clings to the ideal of a full merger of all parties on the parliamentary Left.

In a cover story interview with Leadership, Dr de Beer spoke plainly on the political environment he would be entering as PFP leader if this position is confirmed at the party congress next month.

Political unity would not be achieved by great personalities but by establishing clear principles and making sure that those people who followed one on the basis of those principles were prepared to "fight and suffer" for them, said Dr de Beer.

"The PFP's appeal ought to

rest on principles," he said.

Dr de Beer said the roughly 20 percent of people who believed in equal rights, personal freedom and the rule of law still did so but through the voice of more than one party on the parliamentary Left.

The white population had not moved to the right but had regrouped, he said.

Dr de Beer would not lead the PFP in a different direction on policy and principle.

He reconfirmed the PFP's alliance strategy.

The fact that this had failed on May 6 last year was not a failure of alliance thinking — but be-

cause many NRP supporters in Natal had realised their racial conservatism was more powerful than their anti-Afrikaner feelings.

The PFP would seek alliances with like-minded groups and individuals, said Dr de Beer.

Mr Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement was committed to essentially the same principles of non-racial democracy as the PFP and Denis Worrall had not said anything a good Prog couldn't have said.

An important objective in seeking these alliances would be to regain the PFP's status as official Opposition.

Dr de Beer also confirmed the thinking that the business community had moved away from the very enthusiastic liberal ini-



Dr Zac de Beer

tiative that was taken in 1985/86 around the time of Rubicon and the Eminent Persons' Group.

Combined with a cyclical upswing in the economy, the business community could concentrate on doing better business last year and had gone back into their shells.

Dr de Beer said there were not the sort of internal tensions in the PFP that had existed in the United Party when he, Mr Colin Eglin and Mrs Helen Suzman had broken away to form the Progressive Party as a precursor to the PFP.

"There are lots of strong personalities whose interests go in different ways," he said.

The PFP had retreated from the extra-parliamentary front and the black community where its efforts to build credibility had been spearheaded in the past by Mrs Molly Blackburn and Mrs Di Bishop.

"There has certainly been a considerable diminution of activity, but it does still go on.

"We must find all the time, energy and money we can devote to contacts in the extra-parliamentary area.

"But what the PFP has been doing for the last year is fighting for its life."

Dr de Beer said in his own discussions with people in the UDF and ANC there had been much common ground.

If the August congress confirms Dr de Beer as Mr Eglin's successor as it is widely believed, Dr de Beer would resign from Anglo American.

He also told Leadership that the strengths he would bring to the job as PFP leader would be his marketing skills, his "good interpersonal skills".

Four scenarios for S Africa — and all the players in the game

"At least I can count on you to protect me if the violence comes, can't I, Cephas?" The white Johannesburg housewife, unnerved by stories of nearby riots, looked up from the newspaper at her longtime servant.

"Ma'am," he replied slowly, "you're the first one I'm going to shoot."

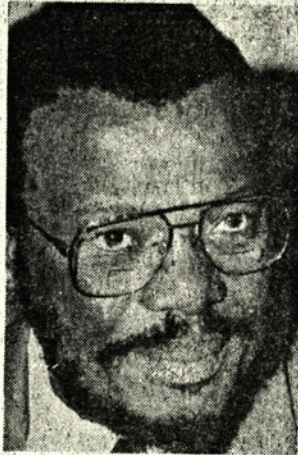
Yes, I thought that might grab your attention. And so obviously did the author, for it is the opening gambit to his study of resistance movements, mainly the African National Congress. Fortunately, the rest of the work is quite unlike the above. It is credible, unemotive and hugely relevant in this country, especially for the blindfolded white population.

Stephen M Davis, an American policy analyst and journalist, spent six years talking to and studying the ANC in this and in neighbouring countries. He adopts a position which is as factual and as balanced as possible — though it will probably be seen by the ANC and the Government as hostile to themselves.

Warped view

As the author points out, the popular South African view of the current situation is as warped as a rugby match with only one team playing. This book allows a look at the full game.

No matter which side you are shouting for, you need to know all the players — not just the big names such as Dr Pixie Sema and Alfred Zuma; Chief Luthuli and Chief Buthelezi; Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe; Potlako Leballo and Desmond Tutu; Steve Biko



Chief Buthelezi



Alfred Nzo



Steve Biko



Chief Luthuli

and Martin Ramokgadi; Oliver Tambo and Alfred Nzo ... You also need to know more about the new activists; the lesser acronyms; the various hierarchies.

Apartheid Rebels provides much of these in its backgrounding, and adds four scenarios for the future.

The first is the strategy of government entrenchment; a strategy

already in vogue. It consists of introducing numbers of reforms, considered token by the ANC, while the Government tries to suppress dissent and promote anti-ANC blacks by co-option into new political structures. The author sees this as having little hope of heading off civil war, or even of preserving white power.

A new euphoria

A second possible scenario is *crackdown*. Here the Government and/or allies to the Right (or a military junta) abandon even mild reform and turn to wholesale oppression. He argues that this would probably vindicate armed resistance, and strengthen the cause of revolutionaries.

Reviewed by HARVEY TYSON

Apartheid's Rebels, by Stephen M Davis (A D Donker, R34.95)

"The popular South African view of the current situation is as warped as a rugby match with only one team playing."

A third scenario is *revolution*, which he sees "as likely as it is hopeless".

Finally there is *negotiation* to a post-apartheid state.

The author assumes that real negotiation is not possible while Nelson Mandela is in jail, and he accepts that there are dangers for government in releasing him. The 70-year-old leader would create a new anti-apartheid euphoria and

could unite divided black political groups. He would have sufficient stature to hold together the factions of the ANC, and hugely increase its membership and strength.

BUT ... this power would exist only so long as there were no real negotiations. The instant the ANC were invited to engage in genuine negotiation, "the power of the alliance as a whole would come under siege," says Davis.

"An ANC that has had the liberation stage all but exclusively to itself for more than 25 years may be forced to cope head-to-head" with negotiating competitors such as Inkatha and the black consciousness movements.

"If, however, Pretoria were to act as its record might predict, with blunt heavy-handedness, it would probably persuade the anti-apartheid parties to overcome their differences and work as a bloc. The more the NP acts as an enlightened and credible partner for moderate-to-conservative black elements — in

way, it has acted in the past — the better chance it has of causing ruptures among blacks and forging a reformist alliance without the Con-

gress that could attract international and domestic applause."

The ANC would be faced with having to reactivate its violent struggle, possibly in the face of greater internal and foreign criticism, or to contest the result through political channels designed by its (black and white) opponents.

Realistic outcome

Davis concludes: "Should the ANC enter into an all-parties conference, the least likely outcome would be an agreement that assured its coming to power. The most realistic outcome might be a compromise between the NP and conservative blacks that could attract significant international and domestic support, setting the ANC back years if it were to resume its guerilla warfare."

"The sooner genuine negotiations occur, the weaker the Congress will be," he argues — and "the more time the ANC has to build up its popularity and war resources, the weaker the Government will be."

Davis's prediction, however, is that the Government will stay with its current "co-option" plans, and the ANC will not compromise either. So peace will come "grudgingly, and after seasons of bloodshed, as a fruit of exhaustion." It's an unhappy ending, but a useful study.

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NEWS

Soldiers hold Kinnock at gunpoint

HARARE: Neil Kinnock and his wife Glenys were held at gunpoint by Zimbabwean soldiers last night.

A lance-corporal brandishing an AK-47 assault rifle herded the Labour leader and his party into a tiny airport terminal at Mutare and refused to let them out for an hour.

At one point, the soldier and Mr Kinnock swore at each other. Mr Kinnock told the soldier: "You are in trouble."

No one at the airport recognised the Kinnocks as they flew in from Mozambique. Because of a mix-up, the welcoming party — including the pro-

Daily News Africa Service

vincial governor and the British High Commissioner, Mr Ramsay Melhuish — had been told to go to another airport 35km away.

The Kinnocks, three aides and about 12 accompanying journalists arrived at dusk. Mutare is close to the border and Mozambique rebels have launched attacks in the area, so the nervous Zimbabwean military moved in when Mr Kinnock's Zimbabwe Air Force plane arrived.

The party found themselves being

held in a small room. At first Mr Kinnock joked: "Let's form an escape committee." There was an impromptu singing of Jerusalem to raise spirits, but then the Opposition leader's temper began fraying.

Mr Kinnock said he understood the reasons for tight security and was not upset by the mix-up. But he said he was "steaming" over the soldier's rudeness.

The party were finally let out and continued on to their hotel, 100 kilometres away, where the official party met them and apologised.

Earlier in the day Mr Kinnock

toured parts of war-ravaged Mozambique and blamed neighbouring South Africa for the country's 11-year-old conflict, reports Sapa-AP.

He visited the isolated town of Inhanga, which has been hit repeatedly by guerillas of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR). He later stopped in Chimoi, another small town in central Mozambique, and toured a hospital where victims of the war were being treated.

The MNR rebels have been fighting since 1977 in a bid to overthrow Mozambique's Marxist government. South Africa supported the guerillas in

the early 1980s, but says it has abided by a mutual non-aggression pact signed with Mozambique in 1984.

Mozambique says South Africa still assists the guerillas in a war that has devastated the country's economy and left millions of people in need of food aid.

Mr Kinnock alleged South Africa was "engaged in the sponsoring of a criminal war".

Speaking of the 1984 South Africa-Mozambique treaty, he said: "There has never been any evidence that when the South Africans make any agreement of any kind that it has

been honoured".

He reiterated his call for comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa and criticised the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, for her refusal to support such measures.

Mrs Thatcher argues that South African blacks and neighbouring countries such as Mozambique would be the most likely to suffer any economic hardships that were created.

Britain is providing economic aid and military training for Mozambique, but Mr Kinnock said assistance levels should be increased.

The Star

If Dukakis wins . . .

WHEN Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen are formally endorsed in Atlanta this week at the Democratic Party convention as the candidates for President and Vice-President they will hope for history to repeat itself. In 1960, another son of Massachusetts (John F Kennedy) and an older Texan (Lyndon Johnson) were anointed by the party faithful and went on to regain the White House after a popular Republican (Eisenhower) had been in occupation for eight years.

As in 1960, this year's presidential race promises to be close, but the choice of Bentsen as his running mate will strengthen Dukakis's hand. Bentsen knows his way round Washington's corridors of power, represents a vital, vote-catching state and agrees with many of Dukakis's ideas; being more conservative, he also differs on others.

However, this will be no consolation for Pretoria, as Bentsen voted in the Senate for the 1986 sanctions package and is unlikely to object to the openly hostile attitude towards this country which Mr Dukakis

has shown throughout his presidential campaigning. He likens South Africa to a "terrorist state" and has made it quite clear that he would not hesitate to wield the club of comprehensive sanctions, pressuring major trading partners such as Britain and West Germany to fall in line.

The South African Government would naturally prefer a George Bush victory and a continuation of the Reagan "constructive engagement" strategy on southern Africa, but should Mr Dukakis triumph on November 8, he will almost certainly reshape Washington's approach to world problems, particularly in Africa. If Dr Chester Crocker has not resolved the Angola/Namibia issue by November 8, a victorious Dukakis administration might, after January 20, unravel all the work and try to impose its own less-favourable solution. This is an incentive to find a solution earlier. But, of course, for South Africa, resolution of the problem is imperative — Democrats or no Democrats in power.

Attacker shoots two policemen with AK-47

THE STAR 18 JULY 1988

By Craig Kotze, Crime Reporter

Two young Johannesburg policemen were shot and wounded, one seriously, by a man who stood up in the back of a bakkie and apparently fired tungsten-tipped bullets at their patrol car with an AK-47 rifle on the Soweto highway yesterday.

A police dog, Alaska, was also shot and wounded in the neck, said Witwatersrand police spokesman Lieutenant Pierre Louw.

Constable Wouter Vermaak was shot in the left thigh and side and was taken to the Johannesburg Hospital. He had an emergency operation before being transferred to the Rosebank Clinic, where he is in a stable condition.

MANHUNT LAUNCHED

His colleague and driver of their police Ford Sierra, Constable Hansion Westraad, was hit only in the left hand. He received treatment for the wound.

Both men are stationed at the Langlaagte Dog Unit.

Alaska, who is assigned to Constable Vermaak, is under treatment at the police Dog School in Pretoria, said Lieutenant Louw.

The police vehicle was also extensively damaged.

Police have launched a hunt for the eight occupants of the bakkie, a red 1400

Datsun with a rollbar and a thin white stripe along its side.

"We are investigating the possibility that the gunman might be a trained terrorist," said Lieutenant Louw.

He said an "appropriate" reward was being offered for information which led to the arrest and conviction of the suspects and the public has been urged to contact the police immediately if they or their vehicle is spotted.

Lieutenant Louw said the shooting happened at about 1 am while the two constables were on a routine patrol.

They spotted a suspected stolen vehicle standing alongside the highway and turned their spotlight on the bakkie.

One of five men who were in the back of the bakkie then got up and fired tungsten-tipped bullets at them with an AK-47, said Lieutenant Louw.

Detectives later picked up 52 empty cartridge cases at the scene of the shooting.

Anyone with information is asked to telephone Captain H Muller at (011) 474-2884.

● A bystander was killed and another wounded when a man opened fire on a security force vehicle in Nyanga near Cape Town at the weekend, police said.

The security force members retaliated with pistol-fire and teargas, wounding the gunman, who was arrested.

● See picture on Page 3.

'Growing State authoritarianism' Slabbert signposts way to democracy

THE STAR 18 JULY 1988

Political Staff

Dr Van Zyl Slabbert has challenged South Africans to work through organisations and bodies outside Parliament — if a democratic culture is to be developed in opposition to growing State authoritarianism.

Speaking at the conclusion of the two-day conference on the Freedom Charter organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa at the weekend — “and it's the first time I have been to a conference which ended on a Saturday afternoon with more people than when it started,” said Dr Slabbert of the some 500 people present — he said white South Africans were terrified that democracy would be lost without the institution of Parliament.

MORE OUTSIDE THAN IN

“One of the most pleasant experiences of leaving Parliament for me was that there's more going for democracy outside Parliament than inside,” he said.

What was needed was development of a democratic culture within the context of the growing authoritarianism, coercion and co-optation of the State.

Debate like the one heard over two days about the Freedom Charter could contribute to the develop-

ment of this democratic culture but it was not enough to walk away from a conference like this with a warm feeling, said Dr Slabbert.

“You have to work through the bodies and organisations outside Parliament,” said Dr Slabbert, urging delegates to take discussion and debate on the Freedom Charter into their communities.

INCREASING ISOLATION

Dr Slabbert said whites had been living in increasing isolation and over the past five years had lost access to information to the extent that they knew less and less about more and more.

Dr Slabbert said he only really discovered “the struggle” when he left Parliament. Just the word “struggle” struck fear into white hearts but there was indeed a struggle going on — for physical survival, for freedom and for future society.

Idasa had targeted white South Africans as their main market because the issue was how to bring whites into the struggle and to overcome their fear of that.

The number of people attending the conference on the Freedom Charter was a measure of the Freedom Charter's significance as a document of absolute political reality and importance, said Dr Slabbert.

Japan's trade with SA 'levelling off'

TOKYO. — Japan's trade with South Africa appears to be levelling off, giving the Foreign Ministry some relief from the embarrassment of Japan overtaking the United States as Pretoria's biggest trading partner in 1987.

Finance Ministry figures released last week showed that two-way trade was down for the second consecutive month due to a sharp decline in imports.

Exports to South Africa, however, still were strong. That poses an enduring image problem, and the government remains reluctant to do more than cajole Japanese companies to reduce trade.

As other countries imposed sanctions on South Africa to protest apartheid and saw their trade figures shrink, Japan has come under international criticism for letting Japanese companies fill the gap.

Even the latest trade figures left room for some Japanese newspapers to complain that trade wasn't falling.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Mr Yoshifumi Matsuda told reporters on Thursday that they should concentrate on yen-based trade figures rather than dollar-based figures.

In dollars, two-way trade was up 13.3 percent to R4.4 billion for the first six months of 1988 compared with the same 1987 period, but in yen the half-year's trade showed a three-percent drop to 272 billion yen, with the declining trend starting in April.

"We do expect that the new trend after April will continue as such," Mr Matsuda stressed.

Japan also was renewing its call on South Africa to release Nelson Mandela, the imprisoned leader of the African National Congress.

In addition, he called attention to the fact that Japan has broken diplomatic ties with South Africa and banned direct

investment.

In dollars, too, Japan's bilateral trade with South Africa has been shrinking for two months. The R650 million worth of trade in June was 14.5 percent below June 1987, the Finance Ministry reported. The decline was largely attributed to imports, which plunged 26.6 percent to R316.2 million in June from a year ago.

Exports continued to increase, though not as fast as six months ago. In June, Japan exported goods worth R333.8 million to South Africa, 1.4

percent more than a year ago. But for the first six months of this year, exports soared 45.3 percent to R2.28 billion, according to the Finance Ministry's customs clearance statistics.

Last year Japan's trade with South Africa totalled R8.54 billion, a 19-percent increase that embarrassed Japan.

Foreign Minister, Mr Susuke Uno asked Japanese business leaders early this year to reduce trade with South Africa. He also suggested that the Ministry of International

Trade and Industry, or Miti, coordinate a guideline for Japanese companies to follow.

However, neither the Trade Ministry nor business circles responded positively.

The powerful Federation of Economic organizations, known as Keidanren, which consists of some 1 000 major Japanese corporations, said the Keidanren is not in a position to control its members' business activities.

"Circumstances differ from company to com-

pany," said Mr Shinichi Nishio, a senior Keidanren official. "A sudden wholesale pullout of Japanese companies from South Africa could cause turmoil in South Africa."

The government is philosophically opposed to trade sanctions, said Mr Matsuda, the Foreign Ministry spokesman.

"Sanctions imposed on trade as such are against our fundamental policies," he said. "Japan is a country living on trade, both for resources and for export."

Analysts attributed the

recent decline in imports to decisions by a number of supermarket chains and department stores to stop selling South African products. In the past two months there has been a halt in sales of South African products such as Appletizer wine and canned fruit. Japan also imports coal and metals from South Africa.

While welcoming a decline in imports from South Africa, anti-apartheid groups protest increased exports of Japanese cars and electronic equipment. — Sapa-AP

Violence of Eighties

ANC 'orchestrated'

Business Day. 18/7/88

ELSABÉ WESSELS

formation of the UDF — that their actions became co-ordinated, Davis claims.

Davis could find no proof that the ANC command was directly responsible for forming the UDF. He argues, however, that the ANC benefited greatly by its existence while its followers helped get it off the ground.

Key component

The UDF's leadership also reflected an "ANC background" with patrons such as imprisoned ANC chiefs Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, as well as ANC veterans Govan Mbeki, Archie Gumede and Oscar Mpheta.

The UDF was considered a key component in a multifaceted attack on apartheid that would also involve trade unions and the ANC's military wing. The success of the strategy depended on the UDF's response to the ANC's call "to make the townships ungovernable".

The umbrella body was conceived as a means of hitching local mobilisation resources to ANC national resistance objectives. By the end of 1986, nearly 700 community bodies had affiliated with the UDF, including womens' groups, labour unions, youth leagues and religious councils.

In 1985, the ANC headquarters in Lusaka issued a call to activists across the country to rid the townships of governing councils established by the Black Local Authorities Act of 1983. In most black communities the groups responding were civic organisations under the UDF's umbrella.

They achieved dramatic results. Government had intended to have some 103 councils elected and in place by the end of 1984. Yet — one year later — black areas were wrested from government control, with only three councils actually functioning. Successful consumer and school boycotts followed.

Another major UDF success was its ability to attract a large white following. Davis ties the development of a non-racial front to exiled ANC leader Oliver Tambo's concept that the ANC had to "control all elements of opposition".

To bolster the one area where the UDF failed to make any impact — labour — Cosatu was founded, Davis claims. In a short span of time, Cosatu succeeded in drawing many politicised worker organisations into a separate nationwide network.

Despite the odds stacked against it, Cosatu — like the UDF — served to give black workers a sense of their power as a united body. "Labour had for the first time fashioned a national administrative structure focusing worker attention on apartheid as the ultimate source of shopfloor discontent."

Davis claims that, from the ANC's perspective, Cosatu served as an instrument for conscripting black workers into the liberation movement.

Foundation

He found that although Cosatu was too loosely constructed for the ANC, the super-federation operated in concert with its plans, converting more factories into potential sources of ANC recruits.

The ANC blueprint — which became the foundation of these grassroots community and labour resistance groups — was based on the so-called "M-plan," drawn up by Nelson Mandela nearly 25 years before, Davis says.

The scheme envisaged regional ANC branches consisting of five separate levels of organisation arranged along a ladder-like hierarchy, beginning at the bottom with a cell representing a few homes. Cell members were assigned to join civic organisations, labour unions, student groups or become assigned to a military unit in order to gain comprehensive control.

While noting the mushrooming of grassroots anti-apartheid organisations in promoting township insurrection, Davis concluded that neither the anti-apartheid movement nor the NP government finally had the muscle for an outright victory.

Davis sketches a pessimistic future scenario: "When peace arrives it will probably not be through conquest; rather it will come grudgingly, and after seasons of bloodshed, as a fruit of exhaustion."

BY EMBEDDING a nationwide infrastructure of anti-apartheid cells in the early Eighties the ANC successfully orchestrated the mass township insurrections of 1985/86.

This is the view of US African policy analyst Stephen Davis in a recently-published book on the ANC — "Apartheid Rebels: Inside SA's Hidden War".

Davis claims to have based his book on original material collected over a period of six years through interviews with people "on both sides of the conflict". He also claims to have had access to classified US State Department records.

Davis contends that, in search of a shortcut to power in the post-Soweto 1976 era, the ANC embarked on a "federal" policy affiliating civic organisations, labour unions, student federations, church bodies and selected white groups.

The formation of the UDF and Cosatu, Davis argues, were major breakthroughs in creating new fronts in opposition to apartheid. Through them the ANC had hoped to intensify the resistance.

Although both the UDF and Cosatu have emphasised their independent nature and denied ANC control, Davis contends that both organisations reflected a strong ANC influence in their political philosophy, leadership and strategies.

This creation of visible anti-apartheid cells was "the ANC's major achievement in co-ordinating resistance and spreading protest down to grassroots level," Davis found.

While the countryside sprouting of civic groups had become popular vehicles for black self-determination since 1976, it was only in 1983 — with the

UK report outlines two daunting scenarios

Southern Africa faces gloomy course ahead

BUSINESS DAY 18 JULY 1988

LONDON — The just-published Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) report on southern Africa presents two possible extreme scenarios for the future of the region, but expects the immediate future to combine elements of both.

It said a realistic best-case scenario would contain these elements:

- ☐ Adoption by all governments in the region of the principle that their interests are best served by isolating neighbouring states from SA's internal struggle;
- ☐ A standstill in SA destabilisation in exchange for public espousal by all black-ruled countries of economic "business as usual" and military neutrality as well as world endorsement of these positions;
- ☐ Steady progress in reducing regional transport dependency on SA to its previous level, developing and securing the Tanzara and the three Mozambique lines and ports. (Today 70% of the region's trade passes through SA whereas 25 years ago, 80% passed through Angola and Mozambique;)
- ☐ No additional sanctions and a switch in using the threat of sanctions not as punishment for apartheid but as a lever to prevent destabilisation;
- ☐ A ceasefire in Mozambique negotiated by Frelimo from a position of strength;
- ☐ Abandonment by the US of linkage, constructive engagement and aid to Unita;
- ☐ A military stalemate in Angola followed

MIKE ROBERTSON

by a negotiated ceasefire between the MPLA and Unita without Jonas Savimbi;

- ☐ A sustained high level of Western economic aid and defensive military training for SADCC countries;
- ☐ An ending by SA of its boycott of the Maputo port.

The EIU said Armageddon in the form of a bloodbath of Mozambican proportions throughout the region was unlikely.

Worst

But, a worst-case scenario could include:

- ☐ Increasing ascendancy of military hawks in Pretoria;
- ☐ An escalation of random military and transport pressure by SA leading to a situation where increasingly desperate target governments would conclude neutrality did not pay;
- ☐ The adoption of more radical pro-ANC postures by SADCC countries with overtures to the Eastern bloc and Cuba for military support;
- ☐ An escalation in sanctions reducing inhibitions on the SA military;
- ☐ An attempt to implement sanctions by Zimbabwe, provoking SA to apply pressure as it did to Lesotho in 1986, resulting in extreme economic penalties not just for Zimbabwe, but for Zambia and Malawi;
- ☐ A commitment by the SADF to keeping Mozambican corridors closed, with direct

clashes between SA troops and those of Zimbabwe and Frelimo;

- ☐ The erosion of mutually beneficial trading relationships through excessive reliance on pressure rather than negotiation by SA.

In the worst-case scenario, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland would eventually be reduced to homeland status while the economies of the more northern states would deteriorate like Angola's.

The EIU says: "A stable scenario requires cool heads on all sides, calculating self-interest rather than reacting emotionally, and often counter-productively, to perceived provocation."

It believes good communication channels — in danger of being drowned by rhetoric — are essential.

"Provided Pretoria and the international community can understand the anti-apartheid rhetoric of the Frontline states for what it is, as an expression of sincere principle and more important, as an essential safety valve for governments facing an extremely difficult balancing act — not as statements of real desire for confrontational action — then there is reasonable hope of a slow improvement in regional stability.

"Within SA itself the internal power struggle can pursue its own turbulent course, without necessarily bringing down the rest of the region in the process."

Party commits Dukakis to action

Democrats BUSINESS DAY 18 JULY 1988 set for tough line on SA

ATLANTA — The Democratic Party convention is set to commit its presidential nominee Michael Dukakis to the harshest anti-SA policies yet adopted by an American political party.

Dukakis still has an even chance of beating Republican George Bush for the US Presidency in November.

The tough stance is contained in the Democratic manifesto, released yesterday. The language is unlikely to be challenged, or changed, when it is put to the vote tomorrow night.

The uncompromisingly harsh manifesto pledges Dukakis will:

- ☐ Force all US companies to leave SA by a certain date;
- ☐ Impose "comprehensive sanctions upon the SA economy";
- ☐ Pressure US allies to follow suit;
- ☐ Effectively repudiate the negotiations on Angolan and Namibian independence; and

SIMON BARBER

☐ Declare SA a terrorist state.

The manifesto describes SA as a "uniquely repressive regime, ruthlessly deciding every aspect of public and private life by skin colour, engaging in unrelenting violence against its citizens

● Shaky start to congress: Page 3

● The Davis book: Page 7

at home and promoting naked aggression against its neighbours.

"We believe the time has come to end all vestiges of the failed policy of constructive engagement.

"We further believe that to achieve regional security in southern Africa ... we must end our counter-productive policy in Angola and must offer support and further assistance to Mozambique

Democrats set for tough anti-SA line

and other Frontline states".

The committee that drafted the platform sought this year to make it unusually concise, but nevertheless devoted a full section to SA policy at the urging of the Rev Jessie Jackson.

One of Dukakis's key advisers on SA, Stephen Davis, said Dukakis had made a "very specific commitment" to declaring SA a "state that has supported terrorism".

Davis said Dukakis had yet to decide whether this would entail imposing sanctions on SA similar to the total US quarantine in effect on officially declared "terrorist states" such as Iran

and North Korea.

"That sort of detail has not been worked out," he said.

Davis divides his time between advising Dukakis and working as an analyst at the Investor Responsibility Research Centre (IRRC), which recently published a report concluding most black South Africans opposed sanctions.

Davis, the author of *Apartheid's Rebels*, a broadly sympathetic study of the ANC, is clearly seeking a policy role in a Dukakis presidency.



● From Page 1

Dear Sir

FROM THE tone and tenor of Ken Owen's article entitled "In the end, we take refuge in stark madness," one gets the impression of a liberal despairing of ever realising his ideals.

Despair is a bad friend. It does often hasten revolution. Sometimes it produces Himalayan blunders.

Whether or not the term "white liberal" is a swearword, when regard is had to the fact that liberal ideals and liberal principles belong to no nation, no race, no country but to all sentient humankind (regrettably, there are many others who pretend to be that) the liberal ideal is the only one really worth pursuing.

The liberal never ever wins. As is exemplified by the fact that many of the causes for which Helen Suzman has given decades of service are now claimed by the Nationalists as if P W Botha personally invented them. Or by the vitriolic words directed at the PFP by Llewellyn Landers and many of the Labour Party MPs, which merely echo those of the Nationalist Party and its satraps. On this one issue the Nats and the UDF are soul-brothers.

But then, surely, the cause of true justice for all is greater than its sponsor?

PAT POOVALINGAM
PFP MP for Reservoir Hills

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Dear Sir,

IN ALAN FINE's Labour Letter (Business Day, July 8) he comments, in respect of the metal industries

^{BUSINESS DAY} The liberal never ever wins

18 July 1988

LETTERS

PO Box 1138
Joh'burg 2000

negotiations, that the unions have made more substantial concessions than the employers.

But this statement in isolation, implying greater reasonableness, takes no account of the opening positions against which concessions have been made, and also illustrates how sterile negotiations between employers and employees have become.

To call them negotiations is to put too fine a definition on them. They are more like a game of matches: a game in which the parties try to guess what concessions the other has in his fist, and what he holds behind his back, while at the same time manoeuvring to put their own concessions in the most favourable light.

It is a situation in which the give and take of bargaining has skewed into a one-sided "give" on the part of the employers and a one-sided "take" on the part of the employees.

I wonder if either side has stopped to think where this process might lead? It can only perpetuate a downward spiral of lower productivity and, through inflation, lower real earnings, to the disadvantage of both parties in the negotiations.

There is a need for the "give" in respect of wages, hours of work, holidays, overtime rates, bonuses, maternity benefits, and so on, to be matched to "give" in respect of application, attendance, attitude, respect for safety rules and all the

other factors which make the difference between a productive and an unproductive work-force.

The employers seem to me to have an obligation to themselves and to the economy to move negotiations to a more responsible plan. And if they are not able to do that, then can they not at least avoid being manoeuvred at the outset into a position in which the only way open to them is backwards, and present their case in such a way that large concessions against an unreasonable opening demand are not judged to be more substantial by correspondents when comparing them with more modest concessions against their own more reasonable first offer?

B CLAYTON
Potervale

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Dear Sir

THE SOONER South African Airways are privatised the better. It is now 10am on Wednesday and, in the face of an urgent need to get to Cape Town next Monday morning (five days hence), I'm told that the first available seat from Johannesburg is at 4.30 in the afternoon.

I dare not even enquire about the return trip. Those keen to get back home to Johannesburg the same day can always travel via Upington and Kimberley, if they are really desperate enough. Who cares? Certainly not SAA.

J C MOULD
MD, Allied Publishing, Ltd

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Dear Sir,

THE report headlined "World financial system obsolete" (Business Day, July 8) brought back recollections of many years ago when I was a school-boy totally ignorant of world, let alone local, financial systems. Nevertheless, I was intrigued by screaming headlines of the day announcing that the financial world had gone off the "Gold Standard". The scene was Southern Rhodesia in the early Thirties.

Anyway, whatever the financial implications were, I remember that the main talking point among gold miners, banks and business people concerned the collapse of the gold standard. I was given to understand at the time that for every gold block in government coffers only so many pound sterling bank notes could be printed. In short, gold was then the sheet anchor of world monetary standards.

As a youngster I took school holiday jobs on small gold mines. The

"small worker" gold miner was, however, doomed to extinction because, in the wake of the gold standard collapse, the value of mined gold at so many "pennyweights" per ton of ore was no longer a viable proposition. A handful of the higher grade of gold output mines managed to survive — a conundrum, because I thought gold was gold in large or small quantities. I was brought up to that belief. Now it seems that once more the world's financial system has gone out of gear, so what now is the answer?

I don't know, and probably many others don't know either, especially when some of our business people and economists on the one hand jubilate about an upswing in our economy while others caution the opposite. It's all very disconcerting. But I must say that Business Day has for me spurred a growing interest in local and world economic affairs which should lead to wisdom.

L P SMITH
Muizenberg

☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

Dear Sir

I FEEL it appropriate to let you know how much I enjoy Simon Barber's column in your newspaper. He has an incredible ability to write on subjects we sometimes confused South Africans need to know about and he writes in an informative and authoritative manner. My compliments to Barber and Business Day.

R L LOGAN
Durban

DAILY NEWS

Too many statistics?

18 JULY 1988

BEFORE the advent of the computer revolution, statisticians were a breed apart. They were to be found lurking in the back rooms of banks and building societies or laboriously compiling their life-tables in the actuarial offices of insurance companies.

Now the microchip has made statisticians of us all, and the threat of mass drownings under a flood of "information" data is very real indeed.

Even more to be feared are the new breeds of politicians and economists which the products of Silicon Valley and their copycats have produced. We now live in the age of "the official spokesman" who uses his statistical know-how not to impart information but to throw critics off the scent through obfuscation. And we find ourselves at the receiving end of a multiplicity of commentaries on TV, radio and in the press designed to make us take note of possible weaknesses, uncertainties and dangers in our economic position and presumably to frighten us into more frugal habits.

It is certainly true that advance warnings of economic storms allow people to seek shelter, thereby reducing the up-and-downswings of business life. This may have helped to improve the weather but the climate has deteriorated: the mass dissemination of economic facts has not produced a more balanced understanding of underlying trends but rather highly exaggerated moods of optimism or pessimism. A striking example was the changing fortunes of the stock exchange last October — a feeling of exuberance being followed by acute pessimism, both moods greatly magnified by an overflow of suspect information.

Sir William Petty, the 17th-century inventor of "political arithmetic" (the use of statistical methods), when challenged about the validity of his material, responded that his observations were "not so false as to destroy the arguments they are brought for." There are indeed many variations of statistical untruth, ranging from the simple invention of figures through straightforward nonsense ("unrest related incidents have gone down by 30 percent" — 30 percent of what, over which period?) to the more sophisticated placing of correct figures in a false context so that in Humpty-Dumptyish fashion they can be made to mean anything you want them to mean. As The Spectator recently editorialised, "the abuse of statistics is now constantly practised by a great range of 'experts' who want to change our ... habits and by propagandists and politicians of all descriptions."

German students in SA to see for themselves'

CITIZEN

18 JULY 1988

Citizen Reporter

FIFTY-six German-speaking students arrived from Europe yesterday to work and experience life in South Africa while participating in the Student Vacation Employment Scheme under the auspices of the South Africa Foundation.

Liaison officer for the scheme, Mrs Marion Crewe-Brown, said yesterday: "These students are the future decision makers of Germany, Switzerland and Austria; and therefore it is significant that they are given an opportunity to observe the South African situation for themselves".

Three of the students, Mr Jurgen Gackstatter, the group leader, Miss Gemma Pörzgen, deputy leader, and Mr Eberhard Bitz, said they had decided to participate in the scheme to test their own experiences in South Africa against the "slanted" reporting in the overseas Press.

Miss Pörzgen, a political science student from Munich, said they had heard only the "negative things" about South Africa.

"For instance, on my arrival here, I discovered that apartheid on the suburban trains has been abolished, but there has not been a word of it in our newspapers."

Mr Bitz, from Mainz, who has studied business and law and has worked as an assistant to a Member of Parliament in Germany, said the first-hand knowledge he would gain from the three-month visit to South Africa would hopefully enable him to make an informed decision about the feasibility of

sanctions.

"I have come here so that I will be able to make up my own mind about the South African situation and to get my own impressions," he said.

Stuttgart student in economic engineering, Mr Gackstatter, said he had seen the world when he was a naval officer. He was in South Africa in 1986 and found it "very interesting".

The portrayal of the South African situation in the German Press did not highlight "the intricate nature of the problems". As a result of the simplistic presentation, people wanted "easy answers", too.

"That is why sanctions appeal to so many people. They don't realise that it is not feasible simply because the situation is far more complex than they think," he said.

Mrs Crewe-Brown said the group of students was the 17th to come to South Africa on the scheme. She and the director of the South Africa Foundation in Bonn chose the 56 students from 138 applicants.

The students chosen had high academic achievements and leadership qualities. They were from a diversity of academic backgrounds ranging from an orchestra conductor to veterinary science students.

The students will participate in an inaugural week in Johannesburg until Saturday, when they will leave for their various destinations in South Africa, where they have been placed in jobs related to their fields of study.

They will work for two months and take a holiday for a month. They will return to Europe in October.

PERHAPS it is time to admit openly what is obvious to everybody: the South African political situation is hopelessly deadlocked. Apartheid is dying, but nothing has been put in its place. For hope we must look to the passage of time.

The bombs of revolution will not break the political deadlock; they can only drive nervous whites into support of a fascist state, and divert resources from other national needs to security. Violence will consolidate the hold of the police and the army on the State.

Sanctions will not break the deadlock; they can only drive us into a siege economy, making all problems insoluble. If sanctions are effective, they will drive skills abroad and ensure that black South Africans inherit a wasteland.

The reform programme of *verligte* Nationalists will not break the deadlock. The repeal of the Group Areas Act and the Land Acts and other discriminatory laws is necessary, but it falls far short of satisfying black aspirations.

As a strategy, it avoids confronting the problem of power, and it balks at democracy, yet arouses new danger on the right.

President Botha's Grand Indaba will certainly not break the deadlock. It is a co-option strategy that may in time show limited successes, and may indeed help to prepare the country for later change, but it comes at the cost of sowing fresh bitterness and division between black people. It is, at best, an inappropriate transition strategy.

Negotiation might, of course, break the deadlock, but the conditions for real negotiation do not yet exist. The ANC is too weak to negotiate, and in any event a government struggling to extricate itself from Angola and Namibia, and under potentially mortal pressure from its right, is hardly likely to broach the subject of ceding power to a revolutionary force linked to the SACP.

If government did contemplate

ceding power it would be overthrown. Not a single white politician, Afrikaner or English, has yet persuaded a sizeable constituency to support real negotiations. Faced with the challenge, English voters emigrate or join the Nationalists; Afrikaners take refuge behind the army, or migrate to the Conservatives.

More trouble looms ahead. If negotiations over Angola result in withdrawal of an undefeated SADF from Namibia, we must anticipate that a disgruntled military caste will claim — as such castes usually do when their political strategies fail — that it has been "stabbed in the back" by the politicians. It spells more danger on the right.

This political deadlock is not altogether a bad thing. It forces South Africans to peer farther into the future. That is why there is so much talk about "post-apartheid South Africa". As a nation, we are trying to discover where we are going.

We are all, if we would admit it, a bit lost.

The Nationalists, having aban-

doned the hard rock of apartheid, find themselves on shifting, uncertain ground. They have let go of the past, but cannot quite scrape up the courage to commit themselves to the future. They blunder into reforms intended to avert change, not achieve it.

Their traditional opponents are no less confused. Protest politics — the loud denunciations of injustice, the ringing demands for change, the righteous contempt for an evil system — have become a way of life for many of us, and it is hard to give up the warm sense of moral superiority that comes from being indisputably on the side of the angels.

The ANC itself seems to me to be confused. Stoffel Botha's silly laws prevent publication of its latest modifications to the Freedom Charter, but I can say that the ANC — like Mikhail Gorbachev, perhaps? — shows signs of losing faith in the discredited theories of Marxism, if not in violence.

Oddly, the ANC is contemplating some ideas, such things as a bill of rights and a private sector in the economy, which have recently taken root among the "New Nats" of President Botha's party. They may be

closer than they think to each other.

The "Old Nats" — the breed of John Vorster and Jimmy Kruger and Connie Mulder — flounder between Verwoerdian theories of black homelands, and Carel Boshoff's new theory of a white homeland. They are caught in a pitiful atavism, driven by desperation to contemplate radical partition.

Amid all this confusion, the liberals — who tend to have the advantage of being free to think as they please — are coming into their own. They defined many years ago the elements of a tolerable and civilised South Africa: equal political rights, liberty for the individual, the rule of law, decentralised power, a free market economy and humane public policies.

They have not had much success in persuading South Africans (of any race) to take these ideas seriously, but they have lately discerned a pattern of events — a tide in the affairs of men, if you like — that has given them new hope: in a situation where the political ideologies are deadlocked, and reform from above is as

There's hope BUSINESS DAY to be found 18 JULY 1988 in deadlock

KEN OWEN

unlikely as revolution from below, liberal prescriptions come spontaneously into play.

The free economy, sucking labour into skilled occupations, created the black trades unions that began to emerge — in defiance of the law — in the early Seventies. Urbanisation, an inescapable consequence of a growing market economy, smashed the policy of influx control and destroyed the pass laws. The integration of the work-force, creating a commonality of interests for all races, destroyed the feudal practices of apartheid more quickly and thoroughly than any liberal argument.

The integrated economy demanded a stable work-force close by; the Group Areas Act buckled under the strain. Modern industrial activity demanded educated workers, and the education of blacks expanded explosively. Black entrepreneurs, led by taxi-drivers, tore great holes in the net of regulation by which a national-socialist government tried to control the social consequences of industrial development.

Despite political deadlock, liberation gathers pace by the day. It can be brought to a halt only by breaking the industrial machine that operates as the engine of dramatic and fundamental change.

The protest against a dying apartheid is yesterday's politics, necessary in its time, but no longer crucial. Not only is the end of white rule a certainty, but it is visible now even to the Carel Boshoffs and his white homelander. The battles of the past are won; the future demands attention.

The liberal message is plain: this country is destined to go through two great sets of changes, one social, the other political. The more social change we can achieve in these days of political deadlock, the less trauma there will be when political change does come.

We can use this time of deadlock to prepare for the day when the deadlock is broken by the passage of time itself.

Silence on the Cuban withdrawal

The Business Day
STEPHEN ROBINSON
in Harare 13/7/88

THE AGREEMENT reached in New York last Wednesday, linking Cuban disengagement from Angola to Namibian independence, leaves unanswered the central question of the time-table of Havana's troop withdrawal.

Although both sides played down the significance of the New York talks — which the Americans hailed as a major breakthrough — it nevertheless reflects a new perspective in the region in the wake of the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Moscow.

Reagan and Gorbachev identified Southern Africa as a serious point of friction in superpower relations, setting a deadline of September this year for an agreement linking Cuban withdrawal with elections in Namibia. At the time this was considered fanciful by most observers.

During earlier rounds of talks in Lon-

don and Brazzaville, Angola made it clear that it viewed a four-year phased withdrawal of foreign forces as realistic; this would certainly prove unacceptable both to Pretoria and Washington. So it appears — and most crucially — that Luanda has agreed in principle to shortening this period.

SA's Foreign Minister Pik Botha reacted cautiously to the latest developments. He said it was "too early to interpret the progress made at the peace talks".

The Cubans expressed similar reservations. Alcibia Des Hibalgo, a member of the Cuban Central Committee and one of Havana's negotiators, said: "There is

still a long way to go. It would not be accurate to say that an agreement has been reached on the withdrawal of Cuban troops."

He said SA still had to give more details of its plan for Namibian independence before there could be an agreement on the speed and mechanism of Cuban troop withdrawals.

The agreement of principle, which was negotiated by Neil van Heerden, SA's senior Foreign Affairs official, will now be subject to rigorous scrutiny by Pretoria's military leaders.

The major concession, which allowed the breakthrough, appears to have come from the South African side. Chester Crocker, the American negotiator, said Pretoria had agreed to withdraw its troops from Angola "before the clock starts ticking" on the withdrawal of Cuban troops.

Gorbachev *CITIZEN* joins free *18 July 1988* Mandela calls

LONDON. — Soviet leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev wished Nelson Mandela an early "happy birthday" yesterday and added his voice to appeals from East and West for the release of the jailed ANC leader.

Birthday greetings have poured in from around the world for Mandela, who celebrated his 70th birthday in Pollsmoor Prison today.

"You have become the symbol of resistance to racist tyranny and demonstrated for the whole world to see the indomitable aspiration of the oppressed people of South Africa for freedom," Mr Gorbachev said.

"Soviet people firmly demand your release, Comrade Mandela, and the release of all political prisoners in the Republic of South Africa," the telegramme said.

Britain called on Friday for Mandela's re-

lease. "The release of Mr Mandela is crucial to

the prospects for peaceful change within South Africa," Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe said in statement.

West Germany, which like Britain blocked European Community support for mandatory sanctions, also called for his release.

"Show your government's readiness to speak to Nelson Mandela and the other previously outlawed political forces in your country," Chancellor Helmut Kohl said in an appeal to South African President Mr P W Botha. "Only thus can the national dialogue you have repeatedly called for become reality."

Japan called on Thursday for the unconditional release of Man-

dela.

A Japanese Foreign Ministry statement also urged Pretoria to lift a ban on anti-apartheid organisations and "begin talks with a wide range of Black leaders as soon as possible".

There has been no early official comment from the White House.

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, sent Mandela birthday wishes from the Canadian people on Friday and earned a bitter rebuke from South Africa.

"Mr Mulroney comes dangerously close to aligning his government with the forces of violence and terrorism in South Africa," Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in a statement.

Mr Botha said Mr Mulroney had kept silent about the suffering of people caught by bombs in South African cities or burned to death by the "necklace".

The five Nordic countries, sent a birthday telegram to Mandela yesterday and pledged to continue working for his release.

"It is a token of the brutality of the apartheid system that you

have had to spend more than a third of (your) 70 years in prison," the Foreign Ministers of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Iceland wrote.

Italy and Greece, both party to the June European community appeal, made individual appeals on Saturday for Mandela's release.

Nigeria has demanded the unconditional release of Mandela

and other political prisoners in South Africa. "This is the only alternative to continued warfare, loss of lives and destruction of property in South Africa," a Foreign Ministry statement said.

China, which has close links with the ANC, has urged South Africa to free Mandela and other anti-apartheid campaigners and lift a ban on anti-apartheid

organisations.

Taiwan, which has no official policy on apartheid has remained silent on the birthday.

Neutral Switzerland has, however, repeatedly called for Mandela's release as has New Zealand, which is marking his birthday by setting up a scholarship to enable an ANC nominee to study at one of its higher education institutions. — Sapa-Reuter.

Greetings for *DAILY NEWS* *18 July 1988* Mandela pouring in

Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: Public celebrations marking the 70th birthday of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela are being held in many countries today.

Mandela has been in prison for 26 years after being jailed for life when convicted of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the Government.

Birthday greetings have poured in from around the world. Among those to send messages were Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu and the Foreign Ministers of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Iceland.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr Robert Runcie, announced at the weekend that Anglican bishops from throughout the world are to say prayers for Mandela.

Mandela spent his birthday in Cape Town's Pollsmoor prison.

His wife, Winnie, called off a special visit to her husband, saying she would not accept special privileges from the Government and wanted to focus attention on other jailed opponents of apartheid and those on Death Row.

There has been no official comment from the White House.

Yesterday, tens of thousands of demonstrators thronged London's Hyde Park for a pro-Mandela rally, and similar gatherings were held in Amsterdam and Rome.

Police in South Africa have refused to grant permission for outdoor gatherings, including a concert planned for the weekend at Johannesburg's Fun Valley.

In Cape Town, about 700 people attended a music festival at the University of Cape Town in defiance of a blanket ban on celebrations in the city on Sunday.

Riot police arrived on campus and declared the festival illegal. The crowd dispersed peacefully.

Later, the Cape Town Supreme Court declared the blanket ban on celebrations to be invalid. Lawyers said this did not prevent the police from banning individual events under the emergency regulations.

Battle to capture croc

GAME rangers were planning another attempt today to capture the three-metre-long crocodile which has turned up in the Richards Bay small craft harbour.

In previous attempts to capture the crocodile using nets, it has smashed its way out.

Mr Richard Sawyer of the Natal Parks Board said today they had been using nets borrowed from the Natal Sharks Board. The mesh of the shark nets was thought to be too big and had allowed the powerful reptile the leverage to break free.

Mr Sawyer said they now planned to use a seine net with the shark net to trap the crocodile.

DAILY NEWS 18 JULY 1988

NEWS

Soldiers hold Kinnock at gunpoint

HARARE: Neil Kinnock and his wife Glenys were held at gunpoint by Zimbabwean soldiers last night.

A lance-corporal brandishing an AK-47 assault rifle herded the Labour leader and his party into a tiny airport terminal at Mutare and refused to let them out for an hour.

At one point, the soldier and Mr Kinnock swore at each other. Mr Kinnock told the soldier: "You are in trouble."

No one at the airport recognised the Kinnocks as they flew in from Mozambique. Because of a mix-up, the welcoming party — including the pro-

Daily News Africa Service

vincial governor and the British High Commissioner, Mr Ramsay Melhuish — had been told to go to another airport 35km away.

The Kinnocks, three aides and about 12 accompanying journalists arrived at dusk. Mutare is close to the border and Mozambique rebels have launched attacks in the area, so the nervous Zimbabwean military moved in when Mr Kinnock's Zimbabwe Air Force plane arrived.

The party found themselves being

held in a small room. At first Mr Kinnock joked: "Let's form an escape committee." There was an impromptu singing of Jerusalem to raise spirits, but then the Opposition leader's temper began fraying.

Mr Kinnock said he understood the reasons for tight security and was not upset by the mix-up. But he said he was "steaming" over the soldier's rudeness.

The party were finally let out and continued on to their hotel, 100 kilometres away, where the official party met them and apologised.

Earlier in the day Mr Kinnock

toured parts of war-ravaged Mozambique and blamed neighbouring South Africa for the country's 11-year-old conflict, reports Sapa-AP.

He visited the isolated town of Inhanga, which has been hit repeatedly by guerillas of the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR). He later stopped in Chimioio, another small town in central Mozambique, and toured a hospital where victims of the war were being treated.

The MNR rebels have been fighting since 1977 in a bid to overthrow Mozambique's Marxist government. South Africa supported the guerillas in

the early 1980s, but says it has abided by a mutual non-aggression pact signed with Mozambique in 1984.

Mozambique says South Africa still assists the guerillas in a war that has devastated the country's economy and left millions of people in need of food aid.

Mr Kinnock alleged South Africa was "engaged in the sponsoring of a criminal war".

Speaking of the 1984 South Africa-Mozambique treaty, he said: "There has never been any evidence that when the South Africans make any agreement of any kind that it has

been honoured".

He reiterated his call for comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa and criticised the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, for her refusal to support such measures.

Mrs Thatcher argues that South African blacks and neighbouring countries such as Mozambique would be the most likely to suffer any economic hardships that were created.

Britain is providing economic aid and military training for Mozambique, but Mr Kinnock said assistance levels should be increased.

The Daily News

Mandela ^{18 July 1988} mystique

FOR a septuagenarian who has been in jail for 25 years, Nelson Mandela has certainly managed to cause quite an international stir. Around the world, there have been mass pop concerts, demos and cascades of telegrams to mark his birthday. World statesmen and women, including the Russian leader Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, have made pronouncements about him.

All of which again raises the question: Is it not time for him to be released unconditionally?

Official fears that his release could lead to unrest should be weighed against the damage that would be done if he were to die in jail. In legal terms, it can be justifiably argued that 25 years in jail would seem to be more than sufficient punish-

ment for the serious offences he committed. And there are especially strong humanitarian reasons for releasing him: he is, after all, now 70 years old.

Nor does his continued incarceration serve any political purpose; indeed, it would seem to be contrary to South Africa's interests. Internationally, it makes him a martyr; internally, it stands as an insurmountable obstacle to progress in starting substantive negotiations with important black leaders like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Keeping Nelson Mandela in jail is giving him a special status, a mystique and an advantage. It is time that he was set free.

The Pope's visit

SOUTH Africans are this week in the odd situation of seeing Pope John Paul 2 visiting their small neighbour Lesotho while declining to visit this country, which has well over two million Catholics, most of them black.

Officially, the Pope cannot spare the time to visit South Africa now, though he is able to travel to Lesotho and Zimbabwe, but a Vatican spokesman is on record as saying last year that he "...is horrified at the prospect of being escorted and protected by Botha's brutal police".

The Vatican's sensitivities about what they might regard as unpleasant or repressive governments appear to have a certain inconsistency. The Pope

has visited Chile, a dictatorship, the one-party states of Kenya and Zaire, and Argentina, where the clergy are supposedly deeply implicated in the suppression of the left wing.

Ironically, South Africa is doing much to make the Lesotho visit possible, creating the facilities and providing the infrastructure. It is reported that Mr Pik Botha has, through an intermediary, indicated that the Government would not oppose any visit by the Pope to South Africa. It now appears that the Pope may indeed come here next year. This would be good news, and not only for Catholics. The Pope is a symbol of peace and conciliation, and as such he should be welcome here at any time.

Reality and rhetoric

THE United States Democratic Party will apparently endorse Mr Michael Dukakis's opinion that South Africa should be declared a "terrorist state". Harsh words, and bad news for this country if the Americans should elect Mr Dukakis as president. Still, one needs to see this in perspective. South Africa has not yet shot down any civilian airliners. And there are

plenty of people in South Africa, people of colour, who regard America as a terrorist state and have said so very volubly in recent weeks. As for Mr Dukakis himself, history suggests that accession to high office often has a sobering effect on politicians. When one carries the final authority, reality tends to replace rhetoric.

Thatcher refuses to join the clamour

DAILY NEWS

Surprise call

18 JULY 1988

to free Mandela

Daily News Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The national and international pressure for the release of Nelson Mandela on his 70th birthday today is now even emanating from the National Party Press — but the Government is unlikely to yield.

Though the Government has not ruled out the possibility of releasing the jailed ANC leader in the future, it is clear that it will not respond to the enormous pressure now being exerted on it from around the world and from a wide range of opinion in the country.

Today the Transvaal morning paper, Beeld, National Party-supporting, surprised the Government by publishing an editorial adding its voice to the clamour for the freeing of Mr Mandela.

Beeld said that Mr Mandela was more of a problem to the government inside jail than out and warned that history would judge the Government harshly if it allowed an old man to die in prison while there was still a chance of negotiating with him.

Mrs Helen Suzman, Progressive Federal Party civil rights champion, said today that the Beeld editorial was a hopeful sign.

The Minister of Information, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, put the Government point of view in a statement released over the weekend in which he said that humanitarian considerations were playing a part in the Government's decision whether or not to release Mr Mandela.

But he added that humanitarian considerations must always be weighed against the possibility that civil uprising, violence and terrorism could follow such a release.

It is clear from this statement — which seemed deliberately couched in ambivalent terms — and other sources that the Government does not believe the situation in the townships is stable enough to free Mr Mandela yet.

But it also does not want to paint itself into a corner by taking up a position which will prevent it releasing Mr Mandela if it believes that in the future the time is right.

A large contingent of riot police moved on to the University of Cape Town (UCT) campus yesterday afternoon to halt a cultural festival attended by about 700 people in honour of Mandela's 70th birthday.

The UCT concert, held in the Jameson Hall, was the only known public celebration inside South Africa to have temporarily evaded a series of security bans on events commemorating Mandela's birthday today.

Meanwhile it is reported from London that British Prime Minister Mrs Margaret Thatcher is refusing to make a public appeal for the release of Mandela, to mark his 70th birthday today.

Mr Thatcher also declined to meet Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

International leaders urge release

World hails

THE STAR

Mandela's

18 JULY 88

70th birthday

Birthday greetings poured in from around the world for Nelson Mandela yesterday.

The ANC leader, who is 70 today, has been in prison for 26 years after being jailed for life when convicted of sabotage and conspiracy to overthrow the Government.

Among those to send messages were Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulrooney, Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou and the Foreign Ministers of Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Iceland.

China, Nigeria, East Germany and New Zealand have also sent messages or issued statements calling for Mandela's release.

Although Mandela will spend his birthday in Cape Town's Pollsmoor prison with good wishes from around the world, he will be without his family.

His wife, Winnie, called off a special visit to her husband, saying she would not accept special privileges from the Government and wanted to focus attention on other jailed opponents of apartheid and those on Death Row.

In a telegram yesterday Mr Genscher said he hoped Mandela would soon be freed.

"I wish above all that our efforts to win your freedom will finally become successful and that, after so many years in prison, you will be able to return to your family and continue your political work in freedom," Mr Genscher said.

Responsible role

"I am convinced that you can play a very responsible role in the national dialogue in South Africa and in the search for a peaceful solution of its problems."

On Friday, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl also appealed for Mandela's release.

Mr Gorbachev said in his greeting: "You have become the symbol of resistance to racist tyranny and demonstrated for the whole world to see the indomitable aspiration of the oppressed people of South Africa for freedom."

On Friday, Britain, a major investor in South Africa and a staunch opponent of mandatory sanctions, called for Mandela's release.

"The release of Mr Mandela is crucial to the prospects for peaceful change within South Africa," Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe said in a statement.

Japan, South Africa's biggest trading partner following US Congressional decisions to limit economic ties, has also called for the unconditional release of Mandela.

A Japanese Foreign Ministry statement also urged Pretoria to lift a ban on anti-apartheid organisations and "begin talks with a wide range of black leaders as soon as possible".

There has been no official comment from the White House. In the past, President Reagan has publicly expressed his abhorrence of apartheid but, at the same time, has pursued a policy

Sapa-Reuter, Associated Press and The Star Bureau, London.

of so-called constructive engagement with South Africa.

Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's birthday wishes to Mandela earned a bitter rebuke from South Africa.

"Mr Mulroney comes dangerously close to aligning his government with the forces of violence and terrorism in South Africa," Foreign Minister Pik Botha said in a statement.

Mr Botha said Mr Mulroney had kept silent about the sufferings of people caught by bombs in South African cities or burnt to death by the "necklace".

In a birthday telegram to Mandela, the five Nordic countries, leading opponents of apartheid, pledged to continue working for his release.

Italy and Greece, both parties to a European Community appeal in June, made individual appeals on Saturday.

Italian Foreign Minister Giulio Andreotti sent birthday greetings and hoped Mandela would soon be freed.

In the letter, released by the Foreign Ministry, Mr Andreotti said he hoped Mandela "will be able to return as soon as possible, in full liberty, to making an authoritative contribution to the cause of peaceful change in South Africa".

Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou had urged South Africa to free Mandela, a Greek government spokesman said.

He appealed on behalf of the Greek government for the release of Mandela and other political prisoners and the abolition of "every kind of political discrimination".

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

The Pope

18 JULY 1983

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha is reported to have issued an invitation to the Pope to visit South Africa during his Southern African pilgrimage.

The Pope will be visiting Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Mozambique in mid-September.

There is no reason why he shouldn't visit South Africa.

True enough, South Africa's Catholic political priests have given this country such a bad image that coming here would be regarded by the gullible as something on a par with consorting with the Devil.

Or giving some respectability to a country which, according to the arch-political priest, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, has the most evil racist system since that of Nazi Germany.

However, if the Pope only visits "good" countries with Vatican-approved political and social systems, we wonder why he visited Zaire, a one-party state, or Kenya, another one-party state, or India, with its unholy caste system and its strife between Hindus and Moslems, as well as between the government and Sikhs.

Or why he visited Colombia with its terrorist violence, a country which is accused of being a major processing centre for cocaine and a top international drug trafficker, or Bangladesh, an impoverished country which was at one time under martial law, or Australia, where he lambasted the Australians for the way they treated the Aborigines.

He has also visited Chile, where President Pinochet took power after a bloody coup and whose human rights record has been attacked by many countries.

He has also visited Argentina, where many Argentine senior clergymen are accused of supporting the military in its "dirty war" against Leftist guerrillas in which at least 9 000 people disappeared.

Answering criticism of his visit to Chile, the Vatican said: "The Pope's presence in a country does not legitimise anything. This visit, like all others, is a visit to a people and not to a government."

Yet it was reported last year that the Pope had refused to set foot in South Africa during his September pilgrimage to five neighbouring countries, a Vatican official saying: "He is horrified at the prospect of being escorted and protected by Botha's brutal police."

The presence of the Pontiff on land where the racist regime of Pretoria rules would be inopportune and unacceptable."

Strangely enough, South Africans are helping to organise everything, from the setting up of tent towns to the sale of souvenirs, to help pay for the Lesotho visit, which will cost R5 million.

This is being done with the knowledge and blessings of the radical-supporting Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, which says the major factors mitigating against a Papal visit to South Africa are the endemic violence, the extreme polarisation in South African society, the brutal repression of the state of emergency, and the resentment it evokes.

All the more reason for the Pope to come here, to bring his call for change and for peace and reconciliation.

Eighty percent of South Africa's 2,4-million Catholics are Black, and according to a Vatican official, the "police are not particularly tender with them".

If that is so, it would be reason, too, for the Pope's visit, since he could express his concern for them and give them his spiritual encouragement.

For South Africa, in general, the visit would be an opportunity to meet and listen to a great international religious leader who commands the utmost respect wherever he goes. Many South Africans, particularly non-Catholics, may resent his criticisms, but nobody will doubt his authority in making them. Who knows, we might all be better off spiritually as well as in our relations with our fellow South African citizens of colour by the time he left. And that alone would justify his visiting South Africa.

CITIZEN 18 July 1988 Police halt concert

FROM PAGE 1

the government ban overturned and to prevent the police from stopping the concert.

Western Province Divisional Commissioner Brigadier Roy During said in the banning order issued on Saturday that in terms of powers vested in him by the security regulations, he would prohibit "any gathering in any building" organised by the Mandela Birthday Committee.

The order covered the magisterial districts of Simonstown, Wynberg, the Cape, Goodwood, Bellville and Kuils River.

Police confirmed yes-

terday that they sealed off Pollsmoor Prison, thereby thwarting plans to start a "freedom run" outside the prison, and that they barred people from entering Guguletu stadium where a sports festival was to be held.

An improvised run, however, started near the Blue Route centre in Tokai.

Five runners set off on Saturday morning and headed for Guguletu. Police confirmed that four were stopped and taken into custody.

Roadblocks were erected near Pollsmoor Prison and only people with "valid reasons" to go near the prison area were

allowed in.

In Johannesburg the Transvaal Indian Congress cancelled a public meeting it had scheduled in Lenasia on Saturday afternoon to mark Mandela's birthday.

A TIC official, Mr Ashwin Shah, said yesterday the executive had decided to call off the meeting "in the present climate" because it feared that speakers might be detained and those who attended "might be harassed."

A handwritten notice, saying "meeting cancelled", was hung on a gate at the Patidar Hall in Salvia Street, Lenasia, where the meeting was to have taken place. — Sapa.

POLICE HALT CT MANDELA CITIZEN 18 JULY 1988 CONCERT

CAPE TOWN. — Scores of riot police armed with batons and wearing gas masks halted a music festival at the University of Cape Town yesterday in honour of jailed

ANC leader Nelson Mandela who is 70 today.

The concert, the only known public celebration inside South Africa for Mandela, was hastily organised in defiance of a blanket government ban

on events commemorating Mandela's birthday.

Police arrived about three hours after the concert started in a campus hall within a few kilometres of Pollsmoor Prison where Mandela is serving a life sentence.

Concert organiser, Mr Faried Essack, told about 700 Black and White revellers that the police had decided the concert was illegal and the crowd had 10 minutes to leave.

People left the hall peacefully, shouting "Happy Birthday" and releasing black, green and gold balloons, the colours of the ANC.

The crowd chanted "God bless Africa" in Zulu as they left the hall.

The walls of the university's Jameson Hall were bedecked with huge posters of Mandela and placards emblazoned with the slogans.

Concert organisers said the event had been hastily arranged after police on Saturday banned all celebrations of Mandela's birthday in the Cape Town area under 25-

month-old state of emergency laws.

The venue for the concert was switched to the University of Cape Town after police mounted a roadblock at the University of the Western Cape, where it was originally due to be held.

Mr Dullah Omar, a lawyer, and Mrs Amy Thornton said they had lodged an urgent application in the Cape Town Supreme Court yesterday to have

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